

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 190407

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 190407

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY LEWIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT USUN 3076 ACTION SECSTATE INFO EC BRUSSELS
DAR ES SALAAM GENEVA HONG KONG JAKARTA LISBON LONDON NATO PARIS
PRETORIA ROME VIENNA LOME THE HAGUE TEHRAN ZEN BRASILIA LAGOS
NICOSIA OSLO OTTAWA SANTIAGO STOCKHOLM TOKYO 31 JUL 76
QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 3076

UNSUMMARY

TEHRAN FOR KATZEN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OGEN

SUBJECT: USUN DAILY CLASSIFIED SUMMARY NO. 145

JULY 30, 1976

ZAMBIAN COMPLAINT AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA--

IN COURSE OF MORNING ALL SC MEMBERS BUT U.S. IMPLICITLY
INDICATED TO COSPONSORS THEY COULD GO ALONG WITH THE DRAFT
RESOLUTION ON ZAMBIA'S COMPLAINT AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA.
THE UK PREFERRED CONSENSUS AND BELIEVED AFRICANS WOULD AGREE
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PAGE 02 STATE 190407

TO THAT APPROACH. AFTER WE OBTAINED INSTRUCTIONS AND SAID WE
COULD GO ALONG WITH CONSENSUS BUT WOULD ABSTAIN IF RESOLUTION
PUT TO VOTE, COSPONSORS EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT WE NOT
MAKE ANY STATEMENT WHICH CAST DOUBT ON THE FACTS AS PRESENTED

BY ZAMBIAN FOREIGN MINISTER OR INDICATE SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES.
GOV SCRANTON EXPLAINED RESERVATIONS INCLUDED FACTUAL BASIS,
COSPONSORS THEN CONSULTED, AND JACKSON (GUYANA) REPORTED THEY WOULD
NOT BE ABLE TO GO ALONG WITH CONSENSUS APPROACH.
(CONFIDENTIAL - USUN 3073)

U.S. OFFER TO PURCHASE NONCONVERTIBLE CURRENCIES--

USUN WAS INFORMED THAT NEW ZEALAND HAS INDICATED IT IS
PREPARED TO GO ALONG WITH THE U.S. OFFER TO PURCHASE NON-
CONVERTIBLE CURRENCIES ON FOLLOWING CONDITIONS: THAT UNDP
IN NO WAY RELAX ITS EFFORTS TO USE NEW ZEALAND EXPERTS OR
EQUIPMENT; AND THAT THE TIMING AND ACTUAL SALE OF NEW ZEALAND
POUNDS BE PART OF AN OVERALL PACKAGE LEADING TO SIMILAR
ACTIONS BY EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. (LIMITED OFFICIAL USE-
USUN 3066)

BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED

COMMITTEE ON UN'S FINANCIAL EMERGENCY--

GROUP OF 77 ADOPTED TEXT OF "GUIDELINES" ON QUESTION OF
UN'S FINANCIAL EMERGENCY WHICH ITS WORKING GROUP
DRAFTED. (USUN 3069)

SECURITY COUNCIL -- ZAMBIA'S COMPLAINT AGAINST SOUTH
AFRICA

SEVEN-NATION DRAFT RESOLUTION (S/12158) STRONGLY CONDEMNING
"THE ARMED ATTACK OF SOUTH AFRICA AGAINST THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA"
ON JULY 11, AND, INTER ALIA, DEMANDING THAT "SOUTH AFRICA
DESIST FORTHWITH FROM THE USE OF THE INTERNATIONAL TERRITORY
OF NAMIBIA AS A BASE FOR LAUNCHING ARMED ATTACKS AGAINST
THE REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA AND OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES"
WAS INTRODUCED BY JACKSON (GUYANA), AND ADOPTED 14-0-1(US)
BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL JULY 30. SPONSORS OF THE RESOLUTION WERE
BENIN, GUYANA, LIBYA, PAKISTAN, PANAMA, ROMANIA AND
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PAGE 03 STATE 190407

TANZANIA. STATEMENTS IN THE DEBATE WERE MADE BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER
S
OF MOZAMBIQUE, MAURITIUS AND ZAMBIA, AND BY THE REPRESENTATIVES
OF SIERRA LEONE, GUYANA, PANAMA, UK, SWEDEN, JAPAN, GUINEA,
FRANCE AND ITALY. U.S. SPOKE IN REPLY TO SIERRA LEONE, AND
VOTES WERE EXPLAINED BY U.S., USSR, UK AND TANZANIA.
A TELEGRAM OF SYMPATHY WAS SENT TO THE MALAGASY GOVERNMENT ON
THE DEATH OF THE MALAGASY PRIME MINISTER AND OTHER HIGH
OFFICIALS IN A HELICOPTER ACCIDENT AND SPEAKERS CONTINUED TO
REFER TO THE EARTHQUAKE IN CHINA.

SIERRA LEONE --BLYDEN EXPRESSED REGRET THAT "CERTAIN PERMANENT
MEMBERS" OF THE SC, MOST OF THEM WITH VESTED INTERESTS IN SOUTH

AFRICA'S POLICIES, HAD BY USE OF THE VETO IONTINUED TO FRUSTRATE THE AIMS OF THE UN CHARTER, THUS PERMITTING THE RECALCI- TRANCE OF SOUTH AFRICA TO GO UNPUNISHED. HE HAD BEEN "SH- OCKED AND HORRIFIED" AT THE ABSENCE OF THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES OF THE U.S. AND FRANCE FROM THE COUNCIL CHAMBER DURING THE LAST FEW DAYS, AND HE WAS DISTURBED ABOUT A RECENT EDITORIAL IN THE WALL STREET JOURNAL QUESTIONING THE POLICY ANNOUNCED BY SECRETARY KISSINGER IN FAVOR OF U.S. AID TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN RHODESIA. THE ILLEGAL PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICA IN NAMIBIA WAS THE ROOT CAUSE OF THE JULY 11 INCIDENT AND WAS DETRIMENTAL TO THE CUASE OF STATES WHICH SUPPORTED THE TOTAL LIBERATION OF NAMIBIA THROUGH SWAPO.

LATER, AMB SCRANTON, IN RIGHT OF REPLY, EXPLINED HIS ABSENCE FROM THE SC MEETINGS WAS BECAUSE HE WAS IN WASHINGTON DISCUSSING THE SITUATION, AND HE FELT HIS CONSULTATIONS WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER AND OTHER OFFICIALS HAD BEEN WORTHWHILE ENDEAVOR. REGARDING THE EDITORIAL IN THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, THE EDITORS WOULD BE THE FIRST TO SAY THAT THEY DID NOT NECESSARILY TAKE THE POSITION OF THE USG, HE SAID.

GUYANA --JACKSON SPOKE OF SOUTH AFRICA'S AGGRESSIVE INTENT, THE SHAM CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS, POLICY OF "SEARCH AND DESTROY" AGAINST SWAPO, SOWETO, AND THE DEFENSE AMENDMENT ACT. THE WHOLE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY BORE A RESPONSIBILITY FOR AN EFFECTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO THE INSTALLATION OF FREEDOM AND JUSTICE IN THE REGION, HE SAID, CALLING ON INFLUENTIAL CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 190407

STATES TO JOIN OTHERS IN FULLY EXPOSING AND TOTALLY ISOLATING SOUTH AFRICA. HE INTRODUCED THE DRAFT RESOLUTION AND EXPLAINED ITS PURPOSE WAS TO LET THE PRETORIA AUTHORITIES KNOW THAT THE SI "WILL NOT STAND IDLY BY WHILE SOUTH AFRICA THREATENS, INTIMIDATES AND ATTACKS AFRICAN COUNTRIES, EITHER FROM NAMIBIA OR ELSEWHERE.". IF THE SC HAD TO MEET AGIN, NO DOUBT ALL CHARTER PROVISIONS WOULD BE FULLY EXAMINED TO DETERMINE WHICH WERE APPROPRIATE TO THE SITUATION.

MOZAMBIQUE-- FOREIGN MINISTER CHISSANO, CONDEMNING SOUTH AFRICA'S "ACTS OF AGGRESSION" AGAINST ZAMBIA, SAID THAT UNLESS SOUTH AFRICA STOPPED ITS PROVOCATIONS AND ACTS OF GANGSTERISM, MOZAMBIQUE AND ZAMBIA WOULD HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO DEFEND THEMSELVES, AND THEY WERE SURE THAT THE AFRICAN AND OTHER PEACE-LOVING COUNTRIES WOULD BE WITH THEM. YESTERDAY IT WAS ANGOLA, TODAY ZAMBIA ONCE AGAIN, AND TOMORROW CERTAINLY IT WILL BE ANOTHER AFRICAN COUNTRY. HE SAID SOUTH AFRICA'S NEW "DANGEROUS LAW" DESERVED THE COUNCIL'S

ATTENTION BECAUSE IT WAS A THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL SECURITY. THE DOUBLING OF SOUTH AFRICA'S MILITARY BUDGET IN LAST TWO YEARS WAS DESIGNED NOT ONLY TO IMPEDE FREEDOM IN ITS

TERRITORY BUT TO PUT BARRIER TO INDEPENDENCE OF NON-INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES AND TO CAUSE INSTABILITY IN INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES. THAT WAS WHY SOUTH AFRICA WAS STILL THE MAJOR SUPPORTER OF THE SMITH REGIME. NEITHER MOZAMBIQUE NOR ZAMBIA WOULD BE RESPONSIBLE FOR A DETERIORATION OF THE SITUATION IN THE AREA. ONLY WITH THE LIQUIDATION OF THE APARTHEID REGIME IN SOUTH AFRICA AND ITS ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA, AND ONLY WITH MAJORITY RULE IN ZAMBABWE COULD PEACE AND SECURITY BE GUARANTEED IN THAT PART OF AFRICA, CHISSANO CONCLUDED.

PANAMA -- ILLUECA STATED THAT THE DISCRIMINATORY POLICY PRACTICED BY SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA POISONED THE ATMOSPHERE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, JUST AS THE DISCRIMINATORY PANAMA CANAL POLICY OF THE U.S. POISONED THE ATMOSPHERE IN THAT REGION. U.S. WORKERS IN THE CANAL ZONE RECEIVED ON THE AVERAGE THREE TIMES THE SALARY OF PANAMANIAN WORKERS. THE QUESTION OF THE PANAMA CANAL WAS OF COMMON INTEREST TO THE LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES, AND THOSE COUNTRIES SUPPORTED THE DEMAND FOR SOUTH AFRICA'S WITHDRAWAL FROM NAMIBIA.
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 190407

UK -- AMB RICHARD NOTED ZAMBIA HAD SUFFERED MUCH MORE THAN MOST COUNTRIES FROM THE APPLICATION OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA AND DESERVED THE FULL AND CONTINUING SUPPORT OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY. PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS WERE STILL POSSIBLE, BUT THAT WOULD REQUIRE GREAT STATESMANSHIP ON SOUTH AFRICA'S PART, AND ITS CONTINUED READINESS TO ACCEPT WHAT WAS ONCE UNACCEPTABLE. THEY WOULD ALSO REQUIRE A LIKE DEGREE OF STATESMANSHIP AND FLEXIBILITY BY SWAPO. BUT THE MORE INCIDENTS THERE WERE LIKE SIALOLA -- WHOEVER WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THEM, FOR WHATEVER REASONS -- THE GREATER THE OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF NEGOTIATION AND THE ATTAINMENT OF A JUST SETTLEMENT.

SWEDEN -- HAMMARSKJOLD STRONGLY CONDEMNED SOUTH AFRICA'S RENEWED VIOLATION OF ZAMBIAN TERRITORY, SAID HE WOULD TAKE GREAT SATISFACTION IN SEEING A UNANIMOUS VOTE ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTION, AND STATED THAT SUSTAINED INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE AGAINST THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLICIES OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WAS OF VITAL IMPORTANCE TO BRING ABOUT THE NECESSARY CHANGES.

JAPAN -- ABE THOUGHT IT APPEARED THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAD COMMITTED A FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF ZAMBIA'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, WHICH THE UN MUST CONDEMN. HE URGED SOUTH AFRICA TO REFLECT SERIOUSLY ON THE INTERNATIONAL CONDITIONS SURROUNDING IT AND SEEK WITHOUT DELAY A SOLUTION FOR THE HARMONIZATION OF THE REGION.

MAURITIUS -- THE FOREIGN MINISTER, SIR HAROLD WALTER, WHO SPOKE AS CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF OAU, SAID APARTHEID SET ITSELF IN OPPOSITION TO A PEOPLE WHO ONLY WANTED TO LIVE. ALL SOUTH AFRICA'S NEIGHBORS -- NAMIBIA,

ANGOLA, ZAMBIA -- WERE CONSTANTLY THREATENED BY THAT HIDEOUS MONSTER. EVERYONE HAD THE DUTY TO DEMAND RESPECT FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE ZAMBIAN PEOPLE AND TO CALL FORCEFULLY FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES FROM NAMIBIA. THE SC BORE A WEIGHTY RESPONSIBILITY AS REGARDS THE FATE OF AFRICA.

GUINEA -- DOUKOURE DECLARED THAT NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE MUST BE LIBERATED AND APARTHEID BURIED. HE NOTED THAT AFRICA WAS CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 190407

THE ONLY REGION WHICH DID NOT HAVE A VETO AND SAID IT SEEMED ONLY RIGHT FOR AN AFRICAN STATE TO BE MADE A PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE SC. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT U.S. POLICY REGARDING AFRICA DEPENDED ON WHICH PRESIDENT OCCUPIED THE WHITE HOUSE; MORE THAN 200 AMERICAN FIRMS HELD A FIFTH OF THE FOREIGN INVESTMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA. WAR COULD BE AVOIDED IF THOSE WHO HAD THE RIGHT TO VETO DECIDED TO ABOLISH THE APARTHEID REGIME AND THE RULE OF RACIAL MINORITIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE SC SHOULD NOT ONLY CONDEMN THE PRETORIA REGIME, BUT ALSO SHOULD DEMAND REPARATIONS.

ZAMBIA -- FOREIGN MINISTER MWALE SAID THE DRAFT RESOLUTION REPRESENTED THE MINIMUM ZAMBIA WAS PREPARED TO ACCEPT. ZAMBIA WOULD HAVE PREFERRED CATEGORICAL UNDERTAKING BY THE SC THAT IN THE EVENT OF REPEATED SOUTH AFRICAN AGGRESSION AGAINST ZAMBIA THERE WOULD BE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO APPLY THE FULL FORCE OF CHAPTER VII. AS FAR AS ZAMBIA WAS CONCERNED, CONTINUED SOUTH AFRICAN OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA WAS THE BASIC CAUSE OF THE AGGRESSION, AND HE FELT THE SC HAD A DUTY TO ACT AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA BEYOND MERE CONDEMNATION. ZAMBIA HAD DONE ITS BEST TO FOSTER PEACEFUL CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA; NOW IT HAD A CLEAR CONSCIENCE AND WAS "IRREVOCABLY COMMITTED TO SUPPORTING ARMED STRUGGLE FOR THE LIBERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA." HE DENIED ZAMBIA HAD EVER EXCHANGED NOTES WITH SOUTH AFRICA OVER BORDER INCIDENTS. HE AGREED WITH THE STATEMENT OF THE ACTING PRESIDENT OF THE NAMIBIA COUNCIL WHICH REJECTED THE PROPOSAL FOR AN SC FACT-FINDING MISSION. ZAMBIA ALREADY CATALOGUED ALL THE NECESSARY DETAILS PERTAINING TO THE INCIDENTS. SINCE THE AREA AROUND SIALOLA AND ALONG THE BORDER BETWEEN ZAMBIA AND NAMIBIA HAD BEEN EXTENSIVELY MINED BY SOUTH AFRICA, ANY FACT-FINDING MISSION WOULD HAVE TO WORK AT ITS OWN RISK AS ZAMBIA COULD NOT GUARANTEE THE SAFETY AND SECURITY OF THE MISSION MEMBERS, HE ADDED.

FRANCE -- LECOMPT SAID FRANCE WAS ALARMED TO SEE THAT THE NECESSARY PROCESS OF SELF-DETERMINATION HAD NOT TAKEN PLACE IN NAMIBIA THROUGH THE DEMOCRATIC CONSULTATION OF ITS INHABITANTS UNDER UN CONTROL. FRANCE WOULD HAVE LIKED TO SEE SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT WORDING IN THE DRAFT RESOLUTION; HOWEVER, WHAT WAS ESSENTIAL WAS TO GIVE ZAMBIA EVIDENCE OF SUPPORT EQUAL TO THE CONFIDENCE IT HAD SHOWN IN BRINGING ITS

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 07 STATE 190407

COMPLAINT TO THE SC.

ITALY -- PRESIDENT VINCI, SPEAKING AS REPRESENTATIVE OF ITALY, STATED THAT "THE ESSENCE OF THE 'CRITICAL DIALOGUE' THAT THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ARE CONDUCTING WITH SOUTH AFRICA AIMS AT RADICAL CHANGES NOT ONLY WITH REGARD TO APARTHEID BUT WITH REGARD TO NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA AS WELL." HE WAS NO LESS SURPRISED THAN OTHER DELEGATIONS THAT THE PRETORIA GOVERNMENT TOOK THE POSITION IT KNEW NOTHING ABOUT THE JULY 11 RAID. ITALY WAS AWARE OF THE DIFFICULTIES ZAMBIA FACED IN MEETING ITS RESPONSIBLE POSITION, AND IT URGED SOUTH AFRICA "TO SEIZE THE HAND STRETCHED OUT BY THE AFRICAN COUNTRIES."

FOLLOWING THE VOTE, GOV SCRANTON NOTED THE USG WAS INVOLVED IN AN EFFORT TO ASSIST THE PEOPLE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE REGION. THE U.S. CONDEMNED THE INCURSION AND VIOLATION OF ZAMBIA'S TERRITORIAL RIGHTS, AND SOUTH AFRICA HAD NO RIGHT TO BE IN NAMIBIA. HE FELT FURTHER INVESTIGATION OF THE INCIDENT COULD HAVE LED TO AN AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENT ON THE PART OF THE COUNCIL, AND HE REGRETTED THE SC HAD NOT DECIDED TO DO WHAT WOULD HAVE LED TO STRONG SCI ACTION. IN THE U.S. VIEW, THE RESOLUTION CONTAINED WORDING TOO CATEGORICAL IN THE LIGHT OF AVAILABLE EVIDENCE. IT ALSO HAD MAJOR SHORTCOMING IN THAT IT DID NOT RECOGNIZE AND ENCOURAGE EFFORTS THAT WERE BEING MADE TOWARD PROGRESS REGARDING SOUTH AFRICA.

KHARLAMOV (SOVIET UNION) WAS READY TO ADOPT A MORE SPECIFIC RESOLUTION, HAD HOPED THAT IT WOULD RECOGNIZE SWAPO AS THE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE, AND HOPED SUCH A RESOLUTION WOULD BE ADOPTED WHEN THE SC CONSIDERED THE QUESTION OF NAMIBIA AT THE END OF AUGUST.

UK AMB RICHARD SUPPORTED THE REFERENCE TO "STRUGGLE" ON THE UNDERSTANDING IT MEANT STRUGGLE BY PEACEFUL MEANS.

TANZANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER KADUMA THANKED THE PRESIDENT AND THE U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FOR THE EFFORTS OF THEIR COUNTRIES TO ACHIEVE PEACE, THOUGHT HE WAS DISAPPOINTED AT THE WAY THE USG "HAS TREATED THIS MATTER." THE SPONSORS "WATERED
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PAGE 08 STATE 190407

DOWN" THE RESOLUTION TO ACHIEVE UNANIMITY, BUT THE U.S., BY ABSTAINING, SEEMED TO NULLIFY ITS POSITION THAT IT CONDEMNED SOUTH AFRICA'S ACTION.

ZAMBIAN FOREIGN MINISTER MWALE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR

THE COUNCIL'S ACT OF SOLIDARITY AND SAID HE HOPED IT WOULD
ACT AS A DETERRENT. (REPEATED INFO LUSAKA, MAPUTO)

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